

Political Identity, Conflict, And Power Practices In Indonesia

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Abstract: In the context of legislative and presidential elections, various identities are sung by political elites to win political battles. Since the colonial era, old, and new order up to the reformation order, the elite of the campus, bureaucracy, religion, and the party took advantage of their interests by displaying the colors of their respective identities. This condition has implications in the arena of battle, which has both constructive and destructive impacts on consciousness. Chronically, when the practice of the bureaucratic elite becomes a contradiction between the idea of collective identity and its actions, finally at the local level, it falls prey to removing the value of wisdom and continues to be in a discourse space that is never finished.

Keywords: identity, hegemonic power, multicultural

1. INTRODUCTION

The Reformation Era is 20 years old, but discussions about the threat of national disintegration are still continuing, both in the regions and campuses, plus facing the five-year political in 2018/2019, which for the first time, the president and legislative elections are held. If this is not managed properly by central and regional elite actors, it potentially threaten the integrity of the nation. The source of potential can be related to issues of ideology, religiosity, and political interests. This arena can occasionally explode in metropolitan big cities like Jakarta, and small cities that are related to the struggle for positions and status. Elites from the regions migrate to big cities, usually abandoning traditional status in an effort to compete in the political and economic arena. Various identities are shown by political actors, both in the realm of the party, religious identity both individually and collectively. This condition, indeed, has long been stated by an Indonesian anthropologist, Koentjaraningrat (1980), that we are proud of the diversity of the Indonesian ethnic group, on the contrary, we are also concerned about the diversity, which displays the personality and capital of each identity. Likewise, Abdullah (2010) stated that ethnic diversity is a basic condition of plural societies whose implications related to social security and welfare. Multicultural conceptually as a portrait of ethnic peace, but the practice of the New Order's power becomes a multi-difference problematic.

The implication at the end of the New Order to the Reformation Order was the occurrence of conflict in various regions in Indonesia. In 1996-1998, there were 75 conflicts in various regions; 1995-1998 there were 19 SARA conflicts, such as Flores, Situbondo, Pekalongan, Makassar, Riau, Ambon, and West Kalimantan. The ethnic conflict in West Kalimantan in 1998 occurred 12 times. The Sambas riots in 1999 resulted in 187 deaths, 38 damaged worship facilities. Similarly in Ambon 1999, Poso (Sabian 2007; Hasrullah 2009). KPA noted that 163 agrarian conflicts occurred throughout 2011 with 23 deaths and in 2012 there were 115 cases of agrarian conflict (Asep, 2012). The Poso conflict is a political dispute between a group of elite bureaucracies with religious motives between Christians versus Islam (Hasrullah 2009; Tumanggor, 2004). According to Dirman's study in Southeast Sulawesi, a latent conflict between ethnic (i.e., Buton, Muna, Tolaki) has to do with the struggle for the position and status of government bureaucracy since the era of the empire until now. Internal ethnic manifest conflicts in the status of traditional identity stratification in an identity politics contestation in Southeast Sulawesi, such as in Baubau city (Dirman, 2009) physical conflict between Ambon migrants and local residents of Katobengke; in Buton district, (Dirman, 2010) related to the expansion of Buton regency; in Kendari city (Dirman, 2011), conflicts between fellow Muna ethnic migrants and neighboring village youth related to legislative elections. The same happened in Kendari campuses, all of which were fighting over and seeking positions and status in the government bureaucracy. In Muna district (Dirman, 2012), conflicts between neighboring youth groups in Raha ridden by party elites, especially in legislative election contestations.

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2. RESEARCH METHODS

Theories and methods of cultural studies were carried out descriptively with library research writing techniques from some of the results of previous studies conducted by Dirman in 2011 and 2012 concerning conflicts between ethnic and internal ethnicities in Southeast Sulawesi. Other areas that had occurred conflict as reference, say between religious groups by displaying distinctive symbols of each identity which are all used as reference material in this paper. The references above are guided by four strengths of cultural study, namely hegemony, discourse, social practice, and marxian and weberian conflict theory. Marxian mazahab, the causes of conflict are economic factors and

while the Weberian theory that the factors that cause conflict must be studied in a multidimensional manner besides economics also concerning social culture and ideology. Bourdieu with the theory of social practice that describes his thinking mathematically, meaning that the study of conflict and integration can be assessed through the formula: (habitus x Capital) + domain = practice. Habitus (scheme) forms a cognitive structure that is between individuals with social reality, formed from experience, representation of objects in social reality. Capital (cultural symbolic value for example regarding Status, prestige) = social capital (institution), cultural capital, economic capital; Domain = position struggle. According to Bourdieu (in Jenkins, 2010), it is the imposition of a system of symbolism and meaning on subordinate groups so that it is legitimate. Gramsci with the theory of hegemony concerning consensus organizations means that violence is coated in persuasion. For people who are unable to oppose (1), people adjust to fear, 2) because they are accustomed to certain goals 3). Conformity arises from behavior with a level of awareness and agreement with certain elements. So Hegemony can continue to be created, modified, restricted, modified and intercepted by outside pressure. Foucault (1977) Discourse Theory. Genealogical analysis of the discursive formation of relations of knowledge and power means that there is no knowledge without power that supports it. The concept of discipline involves, namely (1) science places the subject as the object of investigation, (2) the practice of separation that separates between sane versus crazy, criminal versus law-abiding, between friends versus opponents, (3) technology about self-changing individuals they become subjects (Barker, 2004).

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 The Kingdom of Nusantara, Colonialism Until Indonesia

The history of Nusantara (archipelago) has experienced three times the formation of a large country, two countries in the form of a kingdom, namely the country of the Kingdom of Srivijaya and the kingdom of Majapahit which is highly respected in the Asia Pacific region at that time. The third country is the archipelago which was later called Indonesia or the unitary state of Republic Indonesia which was marked by a powerful commitment by youth from various tribes, religions in the archipelago who later pledged themselves on October 28, 1928, and officially proclaimed on August 17, 1945, Proclamation. Colonialism in Indonesia was marked by the entry of Europeans to exploit the wealth of natural resources and human resources such as Portugal entered in Maluku in 1512, while Spain entered Tidore, England in 1521 and under 350 years of Dutch colonialism which began in 1596 developing groups Dutch trade or trade called the VOC under the leadership of Cornelis de Houtman in 1508. VOC power in the archipelago was very absolute, giving rise to the resistance of the kingdom of local crafts in the archipelago. The VOC went bankrupt at the end of the 18th century as a result of corruption, abuse of office and luxury lust, many of its employees corrupted and accepted bribes from indigenous traders, theft, and manipulation of VOC assets by their own employees who were not satisfied with their

small salaries (Sudirman, 2014). Three and a half centuries of Dutch colonial rule greatly influenced the political system in Indonesia. Starting from the royal bureaucracy elite in the archipelago to the NKRI government performs civil and defense law system of the universal people. Sutherland (1983) focused on the study of royal bureaucratic elites in Javanese society. His writing explained the arena of the politics of the Dutch East Indies, especially the Javanese people in the early 20th century. Sutherland also explained the strategy of Dutch colonial fighting against nationalists by strengthening the "traditional" priyayi leaders to weaken the nationalist movement. Then it highlighted the arbitrariness of colonial rule over people's rights and the existence of forced or forced labor. Furthermore, it was stated that the bureaucracy was shaped to serve colonial interests with the main aim of helping the colonial government extract Indonesia's wealth. The strategy chosen by the colonial government applied the indirect rule system through cooperation with local authorities. This is done so as to maintain the continuity of people's compliance in paying taxes, tribute, and providing labor for free by utilizing the authority of the regents who are often referred to as *hoofden eigen*. In Buton Era Sultanate (Dirman, 2015) the influence of Dutch politics indirectly put pressure on the sultanate government to suppress its people. Entering independence, the old order, the new order and the emergence of new elite rule indirect actors who are often behind power. Following Budiardjo (2001) states that the source of power: can be in the form of position and can also be derived from beliefs or religions such as the priest or priest. Efforts to hold power are different and the most effective is a force and there is no alternative other than the victims obey it. In a country where there are still many traditional elements, kinship relations can also be a source of power. For example, a mother forbids marriage outside her tribe or her religion or class. Harold Lawell and Abraham Kaplan stated that authority is formal power that those who have authority have the right to issue orders. In a country where there are still many traditional elements, kinship relations can also be a source of power (Budiardjo, 2001). The end of colonialism and the era of independence and independence, the situation in Indonesia is still filled with conflicts with the colonial side or the return of the Dutch (NICA) after the Japanese surrendered from allied forces. Then the liberation and integration of West Irian, until the New Order era until the release of the East Timor Province from the territory of the Republic of Indonesia (now the State of East Letse).

3.2 Era of Independence

We also know the range of the journey of the Indonesian independence era has experienced three Era of the government system, namely the Era of the Old Order, the New Order and now the Order of Reformation as follows.

3.2.1 Old Order Era

The Old Order era is under the rule of the proclamer Ir Soekarno and Moh. Hatta was also the President and vice president of the Republic of Indonesia. In fulfilling independence there was political turmoil, not only facing the threat of outside parties such as the return of Dutch Colonial (Nica) but also to the internal state itself. Therefore, the government system experienced ups and

downs, changes in the system of government, namely Parliamentary and Guided democracy. The definition of democracy that we use is not only in the political sphere (such as Western liberal democracy) but also in the economic and social fields, meaning that citizens have the same rights, opportunities, and voices in regulating government in the public world (Sularto, 2011). Power of the Parliamentary (Liberal) model of democracy The Old Order era placed the position of the Legislative Body higher than the executive body. The head of government is led by the Prime Minister and the President serves as head of state. The Prime Minister and Ministers are dismissed by Parliament. During the 55 years of the journey of the nation and the state of Indonesia the main problem faced was how democracy manifested itself in various aspects of the life of the nation and state. The failures of parliamentary democracy include; 1) the dominance of flow politics means that political groups and parties are more concerned with their groups, 2) frequent cabinet changes, internal security problems such as DI / TII, APRA, RMS, 3) frequent conflicts with the military, conflicts between parties to gain power, widespread corruption practices and waning people's trust in the government. The failure of Guided Democracy, the Old Order switched to Guided Democracy, namely from 1959 to 1966. The characteristics of guided democracy were presidential domination, the limited role of political parties, the widespread role of the military and the development of Communist parties in Indonesia (Sudirman, 2014). The collapse of the Old Order in 1966, Indonesia was under the new regime of Soeharto's New Order regime. The Old Order era, the practice of leadership inheritance in the era of empire and colonialism, too vertical orientation meant that the people were still in the era of low education as a legacy of invaders who forbade Indonesian people to continue in ignorance, traditional elites who generally have a movement to liberate people from ignorance. Religiously then collectively obeyed by the supporting community, in opposing western imperialism. This is where automatic obedience is devoted to charismatic leaders such as Soekarno and the first President of the Republic of Indonesia. Furthermore, in the New Order era, the emergence of traditional elites and bureaucratic controlled the stage in the arena of politics at that time. The people's resistance is still passive both in the internal resistance of the people and in the injustice of its leaders due to the hegemony of the most active leader from the legacy of colonialism.

3.2.2 The New Order Era to the Reformation

The background of the birth of the New Order was that the state of internal security was not conducive during the Old Order, especially the G30S / PKI. This caused Sukarno to give a mandate to Soeharto to carry out security in Indonesia through an eleven March Order in 1966. The New Order era implemented the Pancasila democratic system is a democratic ideology originating from the personality and philosophy of life of the Indonesian nation, especially listed on the fourth Precept which is led by the wisdom of wisdom and representative consultation. It has basic principles, among others, protection of human rights, decisions based on deliberation, an independent judiciary, political parties channel people's aspirations, balance of rights and obligations of freedom that are responsible and

government based on law. What is the practice for the 32 years of the New Order government?. It is seen in the New Order's Political and Economic Policies having a positive impact, among others, the government was able to build a strong foundation for the power of the presidential institution, making the role of the state strong in the community a relatively safe security atmosphere. Then the negative effects include; authoritarian which penetrates all aspects of the life of the nation and state which is very detrimental to the people, democratization is formed based on KKN and enforcing the law is very weak. For approximately 30 years there were general conflicts between the people and the government, such as the Malaria incident on 15 January 1974, 11 people died, 300 were injured and 775 people were detained; the events of July 27, the Trisakti incident, and the Semanggi incident left 17 civilians dead (Sudirman, 2014). As a comparative material in other countries, among others, the writing of Michael D. Swaine explores the extent to which the Chinese government views the conflict in Syria. China's attitude is related to international attention to a number of incidents in which the government itself authoritatively carried out violence which caused social, economic and security problems and also related to national borders. According to Daniel Bar and-Tai and Eran Haperin, the causes of conflict in various countries such as Sri Lanka, Kashmir, Chechnya, Northern Ireland and the Middle East involve territorial claims, natural resources, economic wealth, self-determination and basic values which are resolved through resolution conflict with various collaborative procedures, such as negotiation, mediation and arbitration, but in reality it cannot be resolved in a short time and even lasts for centuries. A very basic obstacle according to Daniel involves sociopsychological barriers because it puts strong pressure on peace. This obstacle functions at the level of leaders and society. Morris et. al. (2011) explain the extent to which the strength of foreign cultural currents threatens cultural identity while history proves global flows across geography, politics, economics and up to now increasingly global information and transportation technology. Writing by Jennifer et al., Examines the impact of natural disasters of armed conflict and public health which are interrelated as a humanitarian crisis. Natural disasters and armed conflict are the main causes of death and disease. Lately, the number and scope of this event has sharpened, since 1990 due to natural causes caused around 217 million people per year and around 300 million people live amid the global restlessness, whereas armed conflict has declined globally but internal violence has been rooted for years like in Darfur (Sudan) and the Democratic Republic of eastern Congo. The advancement of weapons and natural resource technology is indeed of international value but causes difficulties in conflict resolution which implies that civilians bear the burden, families are forced to move house, escape internal violence, refugees cross national borders. The deadly onslaught will continue with social and political injustice which greatly affects the mortality and morbidity of the welfare of the world population. Returning to Indonesia, like the Old Order Era, it seems that in the New Order era the government bureaucracy was still rooted in the legacy of the Dutch colonial bureaucracy. Dafidson (2010) states that New Order made the iron-handed approach to the people.

State identity politics: The State ideology of Unity in practice is the uniformity of culture, the existence of a single principle, P4 (Guidelines for Living and Practicing Pancasila (Abdullah 2010), government hegemony about the Berencana Family (KB) which abandons, suppresses the values of various wisdoms cultural elements in Bali (Sukeni, 2009). Therefore, the gender problem of women's role as a problem of pluralism due to the domination of the Patriarchal culture both in adapt and in the practice of government bureaucracy (Hefner, 2007) Maunati (2006) in his book entitled Dayak Identity explains that existence Dayak people as a new order government construction, especially about their imagery labeled as primitive ethnicity Following Scoot (2000) which refers to Gramsci's idea states that elites control ideological sectors of society such as culture, religion, education, and mass media and because it can engineer approval for their government. By creating and disseminating a discourse horizon by determining the standards of what is right, beautiful, moral, authentic, they build a symbolic climate that prevents the lower classes from thinking that their path is free. Following Gramsci in reality, the proletariat (peasant) is more enslaved to the level of ideas than to the level of behavior. Therefore the historical task of "party" is not to lead a revolution but to destroy the dirty symbolic air that has blocked revolutionary thinking. The Southeast Sulawesi context, the physical violence of the ABRI regime in Baubau City in 1969 was related to the PKI G30 S crackdown. The Katobengke people were targeted by the malignancy and they were accused of being involved in the PKI's G30 without any clear reason. As a result, almost all the leaders and youth of Katobengke were arrested and put in prison, but some of them were forced to flee outside the Buton area. Since the reform was underway, the Katobengke people began to resist traditional elites' knowledge systems and physical violence (Dirman, 2015) According to Bourdieu (in Jenkins, 2010) it was forcing the system of symbolism and meaning on subordinate groups so that it was legitimate. The traditional attitude of politics, namely political patronage, which is a resignation from the public to its power over the political process is a continuation of traditional political processes that can still be felt in various regions of Indonesia. As Tornquist (Iswari, 2012) stated that leaders and politicians of political parties tend to transform themselves into political boss bosses. Even what happens between parties is the process of transactions and negotiations over pragmatic political interests, not in the context of giving birth to policies and benefiting the public. Finally, the collapse of the New Order, namely the monetary crisis in 1997, entered into a multidimensional crisis, namely a generalist crisis of confidence, then Corruption, Collusion, Nepotism increasingly rampant, poverty continued to increase, the occurrence of social inequality led to the emergence of various social unrest. It ended with student demonstrations and the resignation of Suharto on May 21, 1998. Thus the independence of the Indonesian nation does not automatically free the people from colonialism. The joining of kingdoms into the Indonesian republican unitary state to the new order and the tendency for the Reformation era to appear was to end the classic colonial occupation and start a new occupation in the name of development. That is the portrait of the new order which destructive seeds seem to still inherit a lot in

the way of thinking and acting in the arena of politics of the current reform order, which is played by various elite powers by displaying various identities in Indonesia's multicultural space. The condition of the New Order's heritage continued to reform until now it was 20 years old, there were political changes in which the people began to be included in the national and local political contestation. The reformed order fought identity politics in the arena of multi-ethnicity, religion, gender in the contestation of the Regional Head, Governor, and Pilpres which is now underway. The political situation can potentially threaten the nation's integration if it is not managed well by various elites to sit down at a table. Destructive inheritance as a result of prolonged conflict, not only horizontal conflict but also vertical conflict means that the level of public trust in leaders is greatly reduced, moreover we have never witnessed charismatic leaders both at formal levels such as leaders in government bureaucracies, group elites even threatening leaders. Formal, such as traditional leaders who are expected to play a role and respond to conflicts between local groups. Reflectively, followed Irwan Abdullah (2009) that the role of Anthropology in the New Order Era was only an instrument of power and did not place itself in a relatively autonomous opposition, considered harmless, not open to criticism and easily tamed by the state. After the New Order entered the Reformation, Anthropological discourse not easily tamed by the State was a struggle regarding Human Rights Issues, Civil Society, sexuality discrimination and minority religious claims.

4. CONCLUSION

The legacy of power in Indonesia can be both constructive and destructive. The forerunner of the history of politics began the description of ancestral heritage, the era of colonialism, continued the era of independence, filled with three changes in the model of the government system, the Old Order, the New Order to the Reformation Order era. The constructive legacy that can be enjoyed by the Indonesian people in the course of its history as stated above is physical as a result of global influences such as the building of European architecture, Islamic religious architecture and the western education system that was cultivated by the Indonesian people. Simultaneous along with the destructive heritage of the colonial era to the New Order, such as the existence of a nation's mentality such as terrorizing, underestimating the quality as stated above, resulting in the survival of corruption, collusion and nepotism, especially the orderly practices of violent hegemony or iron arms which led to the monetary crisis implications for multidimensional crises surviving the reform era. This condition caused distrust of the community towards its leaders who seemed to always manipulate the consciousness which was then exemplified to the community which eventually gave birth to a false consciousness which was then practiced by the community itself. Even the honesty of academics is expected to be a spearhead of intellectual reform, starting to be questioned by various groups, especially the scientific work produced by students as their own works or not, seems difficult to detect, starting from the level of a thesis to a dissertation. Therefore, a constructive solution in the reform era, namely, bureaucratic elites sit one table with academics to join together, starting with their own personal awareness to

further design the multi-cultural portrait in Indonesia as follows: First, to the traditional elite, elite and elite the young man, to sit down at a table, revitalizes the ideological values of diversity. Second, historical stereotypes are historically localized according to the responsibilities of the times, so as not to be used by interest groups and not carried away by agendas developed by momentary political interests. Therefore, presumably, the government creates a space for indigenous communities to be involved in every decision-making process. Third, traditional leaders should open a socialization forum adapted to current global developments. Concerning people's economic programs, through local institutions, it needs to be continuously developed by looking at market opportunities that are suitable for the community including returning customary rights by employers and the government. Fourth, the subculture which has been stigmatized by the national elite is expected to gain a reasonable position in traditional social structures. Meanwhile, local traditions are constructive as economic assets and capital, socio-cultural which must be maintained because it contains the value of wisdom which functions as a unifier and filters the entry of global values that can threaten the uniqueness of the nation's culture. Fifth, at the family level: from early age socialization, internalization and enrollment were carried out, the level of schooling through the revitalization of the Budi Pekerti curriculum, the PPKN Subject, arousing people's economic wisdom, controlling conflict networks between RT / RW.

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